

UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS IN SHACKLES

Violations of Human Rights in Ukraine



ЧИ БУДЕ СУД...?

Чи буде суд? Чи буде кара
Царям, царятам на землі?
Чи буде правда між людьми?...
Повинна бути, бо сонце стане
І осквернену землю спалить.

Т. Шевченко

WILL THERE BE A TRIAL?

Will there be a trial? A punishment
Of czars, of little czars on earth?
Will there be truth among men . . . ?
There ought to be, for the sun will
stop
And burn the desecrated earth.

T. Shevchenko

"PROPHET IN CHAINS"

A part of the stained-glass window mosaic in the main hall of Kiev University by Ukrainian artists *Opanas Zalyvakha, Alla Horska* and *Ludmyla Semykina*. One of the artists — *Alla Horska*, was murdered by the KGB, two others were arrested, and the mosaic was destroyed by the Soviet government.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

February 22, 1972

Professor Lev E. Dobriansky
Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
302 West 13th Street
New York, New York 10014

Dear Professor Dobriansky:

I do appreciate the appeal which you and your colleagues have sent to me. I think the United States Government has clearly shown its disapproval of the persecution going on in the Ukraine. We have considered the activities of the Soviet Government, including the current wave of arrests, contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the Soviet constitution. Unfortunately, the Soviet Government rejects any attempt at official intervention.

Focussing world attention on this situation seems particularly appropriate both through the United Nations and private efforts as well. We have seen that the Soviet authorities do exhibit some sensitivity to unfavorable publicity abroad. For our part, members of the United States Delegation have frequently raised this issue and we shall continue to make our position clear as appropriate occasions arise. I should like to recall Mrs. Rita Hauser's statement in March of 1970 when voicing her concern for the condition and the rights of the people in the Ukraine, she demanded that the Soviet Union "take all necessary steps to ensure a flourishing life for its minorities."

We do indeed support the just attempts of the Ukrainian people to secure their legitimate rights. Please be assured that we will continue to do so.

Very truly yours,


George Bush

UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS IN SHACKLES

INTRODUCTION

Recent arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and other patriots in Ukraine bring to the fore the incessant and systematic oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet government. This deplorable situation requires wider and more serious attention of world statesmen, who thus far have been reluctant to touch this matter as concerns the captive nations.

Yet much attention is devoted to violations of human rights in other parts of the world. The violation of human rights everywhere in the world should be the concern of the whole civilized world.

There are over 47,000,000 Ukrainians, and they are governed by a puppet regime of Moscow, known as the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," in which stooges of Moscow exercise the power in the name of the Communist Party. The Soviet secret police, the KGB (Committee for State Security), is the true government in the USSR and in Ukraine.

Persecution and oppression of the Ukrainian people have always been part and parcel of the Russian Communist rule in Ukraine. But since 1965 the Kremlin and its satraps in Ukraine have stepped up arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals.

Both Reuters of London and *The New York Times* reported that in January, 1972, a new wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals swept such Ukrainian cities as Kiev and Lviv; but reliable Ukrainian sources from Ukraine report that extensive arrests are continuing to be made in other cities of Ukraine—Odessa, Kharkiv, Dniepropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil, among others. The number of those arrested has passed one hundred.

On January 15, 1972 *The New York Times* reported from Moscow:

The Soviet secret police have arrested 11 Ukrainians, apparently under suspicion of nationalist activity . . . All were held under an article of the Ukrainian Criminal Code that prohibits "deliberately false fabrication defaming the Soviet state . . ." The sources said that seven others were arrested in Lvov, the main city in Western Ukraine and generally considered one of the strongest centers of Ukrainian nationalism . . .

The same information, sent from Moscow by the *Agence France Presse*, was carried in the January 15-16, 1972 issue of *Le Figaro* of Paris.

WHO ARE THESE ARRESTED

UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS?

Among those arrested in Ukraine are Ukrainian writers, literary critics, journalists, professors, students, artists, painters, scientific workers, and representatives of all other strata of society in Ukraine.

Many of these intellectuals had been arrested and sentenced in 1965-1966. Their "crimes" now are the same as in previous years, and

these were defined succinctly by Edward Crankshaw, noted British Kremlinologist, who wrote in the February 11, 1968 issue of *The Observer* of London:

What had these men done? They had discussed among themselves, and among their friends, ways and means of legally resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture. They possessed books dealing with

this problem, some of them written in Czarist times. They possessed notebooks with quotations from the great Ukrainian patriots . . . They were not advocating secession in any form and even had they done so, there would have been no violation of the constitution . . . They were deeply concerned because the Moscow Government was still persisting in its efforts to blot out Ukrainian consciousness which even Stalin with his massive deportations and killings failed to do . . .

The new wave of arrests in Ukraine and in Russia began after a decision on December 30, 1971 of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to suppress such **samvydav** (underground) publications as **The Chronicle of Current Events**, appearing in Russian, and **The Ukrainian Herald**, published in Ukrainian.

While in Russia the KGB is arresting Russian dissidents for their opposition to the Communist regime, in Ukraine these arrests are directed at destroying the essence of the Ukrainian national identity and at eradicating the Ukrainian national consciousness as a powerful force in the struggle for Ukrainian statehood.

Also, in contrast to the trials in Russia, which are accessible to Western journalists, the political trials in Ukraine are held **in camera**, very often excluding family members of the defendants, because the Kremlin is fearful that open trials would engender and spread the seeds of opposition throughout the whole of Ukraine.

THE U.N. CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948 the U.N. General Assembly adopted the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, a powerful basic document seeking to promote and extend the application of the principles of human rights **whenever they are obstructed, obscured, circumvented or denied in everyday life anywhere in the world.**

In the Preamble of the Declaration, we read:

... Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law . . .

Now, Therefore

The General Assembly proclaims

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all people, and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of Society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the people of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction . . .

In 30 Articles the Declaration spells out clearly and unequivocally the civilized conduct of world governments with respect to their citizens. Let us look at some of the citizens' rights:

Art. 15 reads:

(1) **Everyone has the right to a nationality.**

(2) **No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.**

Art. 2 states:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex,

language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Art. 13 asserts:

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave the country, including his own,

and to return to his country.

Art. 18 reads:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR are both signatories of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** and make much of this fact in their massive Communist propaganda drives outside the USSR.

The Kremlin also boasts of its constitution, which guarantees all "human rights" to the citizens of the USSR.

All these rights, however, are merely "paper rights," although the Soviet constitution proudly announces:

In conformity with the interests of workers and for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system of the USSR, the law guarantees:

- (a) Freedom of speech
- (b) Freedom of the press
- (c) Freedom of assembly and meetings
- (d) Freedom of processions and demonstrations on the street.

In practice, however, every single right spelled out in all 30 articles

of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, and in the Soviet constitution itself, has been transgressed, violated or deliberately circumvented by the Soviet government.

The violation of human rights is especially brutal and inhuman in Ukraine. There the Soviet government destroyed the independent Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops; it ruthlessly destroyed in 1945-1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, and forced over 5 million Ukrainian Catholics into the fold of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church; it harasses and persecutes other Christian adherents in Ukraine — the Baptists, Evangelics, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses; it oppresses the Jews by closing down synagogues, molesting religious leaders and terrorizing worshippers.

THE CASE OF THE UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

Despite the Kremlin's lip service to the concept of human rights and the vaunted Soviet constitution, the Soviet regime in Ukraine has its own brand of "human rights," and acts accordingly.

In Ukraine most of the arrested were or are being tried under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, which reads:

Agitation or propaganda for the purpose of undermining or weakening the Soviet rule, the commitment by individuals of crimes which are of particular danger to the state, or false or defamatory rumors which discredit the Soviet state and social system, as well as circulation, pro-

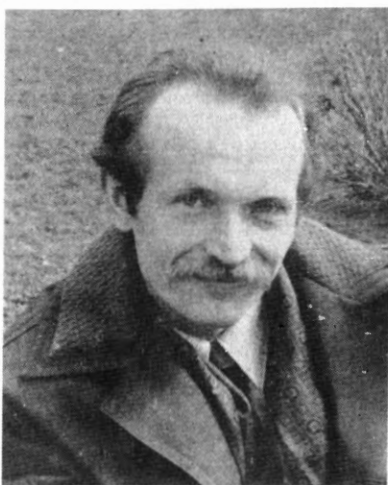
duction or collection, for the same purpose, of literature of similar contents — are punishable by imprisonment for a term of from six months to seven years with banishment for up to five years . . .

Consequently, Ukrainian intellectuals are being arrested for reading books on Ukraine by non-Communist writers, or disseminating such documents as the encyclical **Pacem in Terris**, issued by the late Pope John XXIII in 1963, or the text of the address delivered by the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument on June 27, 1964, in Washington, D. C.

VICTIMS OF SOVIET TYRANNY

Here are some of the arrested Ukrainian intellectuals, whose writings Moscow deems "dangerous" to its domination in Ukraine:

Vyacheslav M. Chornovil, born in 1938 in the Cherkassy province; publicist and literary critic and a graduate of Kiev State University; worked as reporter and TV commentator. In August of 1967 he was arrested and sentenced to 3 years at hard labor for compiling material on the arrests and trials of 20 Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-1966. His documentary book, **The Chornovil Papers**, was published by the McGraw-Hill Company in 1968. He was released in 1969, but re-arrested in January, 1972.



VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

Author of *The Chornovil Papers*, published in 1968 by McGraw-Hill Company in New York.

Ivan Dzyuba, born in 1931 in the village of Mykolaivka in the Donetsk area of Ukraine, where he attended the Pedagogical Institute (Donetsk was then known as Stalino); he is a graduate of the T. Shevchenko Institute of Literature in Kiev, and worked as editor and literary critic. Among his works are such books as *Soviet Literature*, *An "Ordinary Man" or a Philistine?*, *The One Who Chased Out the Pharisees*, and



IVAN DZYUBA

His book, *Internationalism or Russification?* was published in English in 1968 in London.

Internationalism or Russification?

The latter book was published in English and disseminated throughout the world (1968). He was reported subsequently to have been released from prison and placed under house arrest. According to the March 3, 1972 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine), an organ of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, Dzyuba was expelled from the Union "for gross violation of the statutes" of the organization, and for "preparing and disseminating materials bearing an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist character . . ."

(On May 1, 1972, several international news services reported from Moscow that two weeks prior the Soviet secret police in Kiev again arrested Ivan Dzyuba.)

Ivan Svitlychny, born in 1929 in the Luhansk area of Ukraine. He is a literary critic and publicist; in 1952 he graduated from the State University in Kharkiv and worked in the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences while writing articles and literary essays for various journals and newspapers in Ukraine. Arrested in 1966, he spent eight months in jail. He wrote also



IVAN SVITYLCHNY

Brilliant Ukrainian literary critic and author.

for Ukrainian journals in Czechoslovakia and Poland. His latest translation of the work from the French poet, **Pierre-Jean Beranger**, appeared in the "Dnipro" Publication **Pisni** (Songs), published in Kiev in 1970.

Eugene Sverstiuk, born in 1928 in Volhynia. He is a critic and publicist; his essays and articles have been published in many Ukrainian reviews. With his arrest in 1965-1966, his literary output was curtailed considerably. One of his essays on the Ukrainian poet **Mykola Zerov**, who was "liquidated" during the Stalinist reign of terror, appeared in the Ukrainian magazine **Dukla**, appearing in Priasiv, Czechoslovakia, during **Alexander Dubcek's** regime; its publication has been suspended by the present pro-Moscow government of **Gustav Husak**. One important work, **Cathedral on the Scaffolding**, has been widely circulated in Ukraine as a **samvydav** (underground) publication.

Stephania Shabatura, born in 1938, is an artist and a specialist on Ukrainian rugs (**kylym**); her **kylyms** have been displayed widely at art exhibits, especially at the December 1971 **kylym** exhibit in Kiev; widely known in Ukraine are

her **kylym** "Ivan Kotlyarevsky" (1969) and "Young Dovbush in the Green Beskid" (1970). She incurred the ire of the KGB by demanding admission to the secret trial of **Valentyn Moroz**, who was sentenced to nine years at hard labor in the fall of 1970.

Irena Stasiv-Kalynets, born in 1940, is the wife of Ukrainian poet **Ihor Kalynets**, who is the author of three collections of poetry, **Fire of Kupalo** (1966) **Poetry from Ukraine** (1970), and **Summary of Silence** (1971). She, too, is a poet of note, specializing in poetry for children and the youth. She was an instructor of the Ukrainian language and literature at the Lviv Polytechnical Institute until the summer of 1970, when she was ousted from her position and was forced to work in a textile factory, where she was arrested in January, 1972.

Yuriy Shukhevych, born in 1933. He is the son of General **Roman Shukhevych** (**Taras Chuprynka**) who, as commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was ambushed and killed by Soviet security troops in the fall of 1950 in Western Ukraine. The son,



EUGENE SVERSTIUK

Literary critic and essayist, who criticized Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine.

Yuriy, was arrested by the NKVD in 1948, at which time he was 15 years old, and sentenced to 10 years at hard labor; he was released in 1956, but the Soviet Prosecutor General, **Roman Rudenko**, sentenced him again, this time to 2 years at hard labor. In 1958, on the eve of his release, he was tried once again by the Lviv District Court and sentenced to 10 years at hard labor for promoting "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" among political prisoners, and also because he refused to denounce his father as an "enemy of the people." In 1968 he was released, but forbidden to return to Ukraine; he lived with his wife and child in the city of Nalchik in the Caucasus, where he was arrested again on February 27, 1972.

Ivan A. Hel, a student and art critic at Lviv University, was first arrested and sentenced on March 25, 1965, to 3 years at hard labor for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He served his term in Camp II, Yavas, Mordovia. Released in 1969, he was again arrested in January, 1972.

Yaroslav Dobosh's arrest was reported on February 26, 1972, by **Radyanska Ukraina**, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrain-



YURIY SHUKHEVYCH
*In Soviet Russian jails since 1948
(arrested at 15 years of age).*

ian SSR. The article assailed "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" and their "alliance" with Mao Tse-tung. In that connection the Soviet authorities "revealed" that Mr. **Dobosh**, a young Ukrainian student from Belgium, had brought "secret instructions from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)" and (allegedly) "came to Ukraine to foment anti-Soviet revolutionary activities." (These charges were promptly denied by OUN leaders in Europe.)

OTHER ARRESTED UKRAINIANS

A number of other Ukrainian writers and intellectuals were arrested in January and February, 1972.

They are:

KIEV: **Vasyl Stus**, a literary critic; **Alexander Serhienko**, **Leonid Seleznenko**, **Mykola Shumuk**, **Zinovi Antoniuk** and **Anatole Lupynis**, **Alexander Riznykiv**, **Volodymyr Rohatynsky**, **Luba Seredniak**, **Leonid Kovalenko** and **Dr. Prytyka** (no first name given).

LVIV: **Stephania Hulyk**, **Hryhory Chubay** and **Mykhailo Osadchy**.

Mr. Osadchy, a literary critic and author, was sentenced in 1966 to 2 years at hard labor at Camp II, Yavas, Mordovia. At the time of his first arrest the KGB confiscated all copies of his book of poetry, **Moon Fields**. Born in Kumany in the Sumy region of northeastern Ukraine, he is a translator into Ukrainian of the poems of **Garcia Lorca** and the work of Baltic poets. Recently, he published a collection, entitled **Bilmo** (Cataract) — poetry, essays and articles, for which, apparently, he was arrested.

IVANO-FRANKIVSK: Rev.

Vasyl Romaniuk, Leonid Plushch (engineer-mathematician), Mykola Plakhotiuk, Mynailo (no first name given) and Zinovia Franko. Miss Franko is the daughter of Taras Franko (who died on November 5, 1971) and a granddaughter of Ivan Franko, greatest poet of Ukraine after Shevchenko. For the past few years she was discriminated against by the Soviet government and could not obtain employment. She was arrested in Kiev and subsequently released. On March 2, 1972, *Radyanska Ukraina* printed an "open letter" signed by Miss Franko, in which she "recanted" her "anti-Soviet activities."

(According to the "Smoloskyp" Press Service, Miss Franko was re-arrested by the KGB in April, 1972.)



IRENA STASIV-KALYNETS
*Instructor of Ukrainian language
and literature.*

MARTYRS SENTENCED TO LONG IMPRISONMENT

Most of these Ukrainian intellectuals have been accused of glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading pre-revolutionary books on Ukrainian history, and copying and disseminating the speeches and writings of Western leaders. They also discussed how to legally stop and resist the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the destruction of its culture by Russians. Some of them protested against the unbridled

persecution of national minorities, notably the Jews; they accused the Soviet government of the inhuman deportations of the Baltic peoples and the "liquidation" of such ethnic groups as the Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Chechen-Ingushes and Karachais.

A few cases will illustrate the depth of Soviet Russian oppression and lawlessness in Ukraine:



STEPHANIA SHABATURA
*Ukrainian artist and specialist on
Ukrainian rugs.*

Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky, poet, journalist and translator of English classics into Ukrainian, including **Jane Eyre**, was arrested while an officer of the Soviet army in 1944 and sentenced to 25 years at hard labor; released in 1960, he studied at Odessa University, but in 1965 he was arrested again and, without benefit of jury, was sentenced by **Roman Rudenko**, Prosecutor General of the USSR, to eight years and seven months imprisonment (cf. Karavansky's petition in defense of Jews and other minorities in the January 15, 1968 issue of **The New Leader** of New York). His wife, **Nina Strokata-Karavansky**, a microbiologist at the Medical Institute in Odessa, was arrested in the fall of 1971 for refusing to



SVYATOSLAV Y. KARAVANSKY

Poet, Translator and Journalist, 8 years and 7 months at hard labor.

denounce and divorce her husband.

Kateryna Zarytska, a Ukrainian Red Cross worker during World War II, was arrested in 1947 and given 25 years at hard labor. She never benefited from any state-granted amnesty and, as far as is known, is in notorious Vladimir Prison, with release due this year. Her tragedy was shared by her husband, **Mykhailo Soroka**, another victim of Soviet oppression. A teacher by profession, he was arrested in 1940 and sentenced to eight years; released in 1948, he was re-arrested and in 1952 sentenced to 25 years at hard labor for unspecified "subversive" activity. He died in a Soviet jail in the summer of 1971.

Valentyn Moroz, a young Ukrainian historian, born in 1936. A graduate from the University of Lviv, he taught modern history in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk, and prepared himself for his Ph.D. degree. In August, 1965, he was arrested and tried on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," and in January, 1966, sentenced to five years at hard labor.

He served four years in political prisoners' Camp II, Yavas, Mor-dovia. During his incarceration, Moroz was tried by the camp court and committed to solitary confinement for writing a blistering accusation of the Soviet regime in a booklet, **A Report from the Beria Preserve**. In the fall of 1969, he was released, but was unable to find employment because of his "criminal" record. On June 1, 1970, he was arrested again, and charged with writing **A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine**, which scathingly assailed the Russification of Ukraine. On November 20, 1970, he was sentenced to 9 years at hard labor. He is now reported to be in Vladimir Prison.

Archbishop Vasyl Welychkovsky, highest prelate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (which functions illegally in Ukraine), was arrested in January, 1969 in Lviv, on his way to hear the confession of a sick person; in the fall of the same year he was tried and sentenced to three years at hard labor. In December, 1971, he was reported to be in a jail for common criminals in the Donbas area of Ukraine, and to be suffering from ill health and abuse.

On February 27, 1972, **Archbishop Welychkovsky** arrived in Rome after being released from



VALENTYN MOROZ

36-year-old historian: 9 years at hard labor for writing a pamphlet.



VASYL WELYCHKOVSKY

Archbishop of Ukrainian Catholic Church; released from a Soviet jail on February 27, 1972; is now in Rome.

prison, one month before his term was up. He has since been received by Joseph Cardinal Slipy, Archbishop-Major of the Ukrainian

Church. Thus far no public statement has appeared as to the circumstances of his release and arrival in Rome.

Alla Horska, a young Ukrainian woman artist and a member of the Kiev Art Institute, was murdered on November 28, 1970, near Kiev under mysterious circumstances. In her home she often was host to many known Ukrainian intellectual dissidents. Together with two other Ukrainian artists, **Panas Zalyvakha** and **Ludmyla Semykina**, she designed a stained-glass window entitled, "Prophet" (showing Taras Shevchenko in chains, with powerful quotations against the Russian Czars), for the main hall of Kiev University. The window was destroyed by Russian chauvinists, angered because it symbolized freedom, for which all Ukrainians are striving. Miss **Horska**, according to **The Ukrainian Herald** (No. 5, June, 1971), was slain on the orders of the KGB.

TRAVESTY OF "CULTURAL EXCHANGE"

As we know, the United States has an agreement with the USSR regarding "cultural exchanges." We thus open our doors to various teams of Soviet scientists, dance and choral ensembles, students, scholars, musicians, and writers and poets, such as the hypocritical **Yevgeniy Yevtushenko**. All, as emissaries of the Soviet regime, give fulsome praise to the Soviet system and its alleged cultural and technological "progress" and "freedom."

But, at the very same time, the Soviet government is conducting **cultural and religious genocide** in Ukraine. It ruthlessly persecutes Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism and Judaism in the USSR.

Yet the Soviet Union is by no means immune to the voice of international public opinion. Under the pressure of world opinion, the Kremlin has allowed many Jews to emigrate from the USSR to Israel,



ALLA HORSKA
Murdered by the KGB.

and **Alexander Solzhenitsyn**, great Russian writer and Nobel prize winner, is still free because the Kremlin is reluctant to arrest him for fear of international repercussions. During the recent visit to Canada of Soviet Premier **Alexei Kosygin**, Prime Minister **Pierre E. Trudeau**, influenced by Canadian public opinion and Ukrainian Canadian parliamentarians headed by Senator **Paul Yuzyk**, brought up the matter of repression in Ukraine with his Soviet guest.

Therefore, the protesting voice of freedom-loving peoples the world over, the press, radio and TV broadcasts — all can play a vital role in exposing and moderating the barbarous Soviet policies in Ukraine.



IVAN HEL
Art Critic.

WORLD PRESS ON REPRESSIONS IN UKRAINE

The recent arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Soviet government elicited an extensive coverage in the world press.

On January 14, 1972, the AP (American), Reuters (British), AFP (French) and DDP (German) press agencies reported on the arrest of eleven Ukrainians. On January 12 seven of them were herded

off to a jail in Lviv, and on January 13, the remaining four, including **Ivan Svitlychny**, were arrested in Kiev. They were charged with fomenting "nationalist intrigues" and "disseminating libelous rumors about the Soviet Union" (AP), for "nationalist aspirations" (Reuters), and, simply, "nationalism" (AFP and DDP).

On January 17, 1972, the AFP and DDP agencies reported the arrest of **Ivan Dzyuba** and eleven of his friends. On January 18 the UPI (American) wrote that the secret police were taking measures against "Ukrainian nationalists" and that twelve persons had been apprehended for "nationalist intrigues." On January 19 Reuters reported that the Soviet secret service had arrested nineteen persons for "nationalist or anti-Soviet activity." According to secret sources, twelve persons had been arrested in Kiev, seven in Lviv.

Again, on January 20, AFP and DDP reported the arrest of the nineteen Ukrainians, and that among them was **Eugene Sverstiuk**, noted literary critic.



KATERYNA ZARYTSKA
Imprisoned for 25 years.

The numerous German dailies, as well as the German-language **Neue Zuercher Zeitung**, ran dispatches on the KGB terror in Ukraine. On January 19 the newspaper reported that among the "arrested are also young people, especially students, professors and literati. The police took decisive measures also in other universities and industrial centers, such as Chernivtsi, Poltava, Kharkiv and Dnepropetrovsk. The wave of arrests extended also to those circles which support the program of **Valentyn Moroz** demanding full equality for Ukraine."

The German dailies, (January 19, 1972) also reported the "arrest of writer **Mykhailo Osadchy**. The arrested were accused of editing and disseminating the underground **Ukrainian Herald**. The last issue, dated June, 1971, consists of 100 pages, including detailed reports on the anti-Communist moods of students at Kiev University and the critical attitude of Ukrainian writers toward Moscow . . ."

The **Neue Zuercher Zeitung** said that the "police action was aimed at intimidating the publishers of **The Ukrainian Herald**, organ of the Ukrainian opposition. In this publi-

cation was recorded meticulously all violations of the secret police and the courts, crass cases of Russification and infractions against the existing constitution."

The same organ also reported (January 20 and 21, 1972) a police search of the apartment of writer **Victor Nekrasov** in Kiev, who is suspected of collaborating with those arrested for their "nationalist activity."

On January 19, 1972, the DDP and AFP covered the protest of Ukrainian women and children at the U.N., demanding open trials for Ukrainian intellectuals.

In Great Britain the first report on the wave of arrests in Ukraine appeared on January 14, 1972 in **The Evening Standard**, stating that among those arrested was **Ivan Svitlychny** of Kiev.

On January 15, 1972, the arrests in Ukraine were given space in **The Daily Telegraph**, **The Times**, **The Guardian** and **The Daily Mail**. **The Times** and **The Daily Telegraph** reported that in addition to **Ivan Svitlychny**, the police arrested **Vyacheslav Chornovil** (an excellent analysis, "Ukraine's Law-abiding



EQUALITY A LA MOSCOW: SLAVE LABORERS IN SIBERIA

A group of young Ukrainian men and women condemned to slave labor in quarries and mine pits in the locality of Afonino, Siberia. The picture, taken a few years ago, was smuggled out of the USSR recently.

Dissidents," by Abraham Brumberg appeared in the March 13, 1972 issue of *The Guardian*).

In France notice of the arrests was taken by *Le Figaro*, *Aurore* and the leftist *France-Soir*. The latter organ quoted Peter Shelest, Communist boss of Ukraine, as saying:

We must unmask the bourgeois nationalists of Ukraine who in their struggle against the Soviet government have allied themselves with Zionists and other counterrevolutionaries in the West . . .

France-Soir commented:

The situation in Ukraine must be serious enough for Shelest to officially pronounce these words . . .

Entitled, "Danger for the Structure," the editorial in *France-Soir* continued:

In an incessant struggle Ukraine has forged its national identity, which was manifested by the national, though ephemeral, government during the revolution.

No wonder that today Ukrainian "nationalism" is so alive. It goes in step with the reawakening of nationalism in the Asian republics of the USSR (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan), and also with the renewed national feelings of Jews in the USSR. The Soviet Union, which amassed so many different peoples, may justly fear a danger to its structure . . .

Reports on the arrests in Ukraine were carried in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and many other American and Canadian newspapers. Reporting also were the "Voice of America," "Radio Liberty" and "Radio Free Europe," as well as other newspaper and TV and radio stations throughout the world.

PERTINENT QUOTATIONS

STATE DEPARTMENT CONDEMNS PERSECUTION IN UKRAINE

" . . . President Nixon has asked me to reply to your comments, in behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, about recent arrests by Soviet authorities of Ukrainian intellectual leaders.

"The U.S. Government has traditionally condemned the persecution of minorities, no matter where it occurs. We strongly disapprove of pressures exerted by the Soviet Government aimed at restricting the national, religious and cultural freedom of individuals and groups in the Ukraine.

"The arrests of dissident figures appear directed against advocates of Ukrainian cultural equality . . . The U.S. Government condemns these arrests as violations of the fundamental human rights assured under the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' and the Soviet constitution itself . . .

"I can assure you and all members of your organization that efforts of the Ukrainian people and other Soviet minority groups to secure basic human rights have our support . . . Our U.N. Delegation has frequently raised the subject of persecution . . . in the Soviet Union, and on March 17, 1970, Mrs. Rita Hauser, U.S. Delegate to the Human Rights Commission, demanded that the Soviet Union 'take all necessary steps to ensure a flourishing life for its many minorities.' She voiced concern for the condition and basic rights of the Ukrainian people . . ."

John Richardson, Jr.
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

(Excerpts from letter to Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, sent in March, 1972.)

USE POISON TO BREAK PRISONERS

“... Having failed to break us morally, the KGB organs (secret police) are trying to transform us biologically from intellectuals into primitives.

“Last year Lukyanenko was taken to Vladimir Prison on March 3, and kept there until September. (In this prison) poisonous substances were added to his food. He was given to know that prolonged injection of these toxic substances causes the human organism to deteriorate.

“Poison is also added to the food in the camp ... The symptoms of poisoning are as follows: slight pressure in the temples is felt 10-15

minutes after eating; this eventually develops into an unbearable headache. Concentration becomes difficult, even for something like writing a letter home ... Last year (the situation was) the same as this year. The symptoms were somewhat different: 10-15 minutes after eating one experienced a mild intoxication, followed by severe pain in the center of the head, trembling of the hands, inability to concentrate ...”

(From the Petition of Three Ukrainian Political Prisoners — Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Kandyba and Lev Lukyanenko, signed in June, 1969, and submitted to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights by Amnesty International of London.)

DEFENSE OF JEWISH MINORITY

“... First of all I wish to draw your attention to discrimination against the Jewish population, for the attitude toward the Jews is the litmus paper that shows the degree of international consciousness of a given society. The closing of Jewish cultural institutions, of newspapers, schools, theaters, publishing houses; the execution of Jewish cultural leaders; the discriminatory practice in the admission of Jews to the higher and secondary institutions of learning — all these are

phenomena which blossomed forth luxuriantly during the time of the Stalin personality cult. It seems that the condemnation of the cult should also have put an end to these discriminatory phenomena. Unfortunately, this has not happened ...”

(From the “Petition” of Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky to the Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, The Chornovil Papers, p. 199, New York, 1968.)

CANADIAN COMMUNISTS CONDEMN “SOVIET VIOLATIONS” IN UKRAINE

“... When inquiries were made about sentencing of Ukrainian writers and others, we were told ... that they were convicted as enemies of the people. But specific charges against them were not revealed. Although we do not claim to know what consideration of state security led to the trials of these writers being conducted in secret,

we must make the point that such *in camera* trials never serve to dispel doubts and questioning ...”

(Viewpoint, January 1968, Central Committee Bulletin, Communist Party of Canada, cf. “Report of the Delegation,” led by Tim Buck, quoted from *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba, London, 1968, p. XIX.)

CONCERN OF AMERICAN LEGISLATORS

MASSACHUSETTS

"... I have taken the liberty of referring your letter to the Department of State for their advice on measures which the U.S. Government may take to secure equal rights for Ukrainian citizens ..."

Edward W. Brooke
U.S. Senator

H. Res. 884:

Whereas the Soviet Union has violated human rights in Ukraine by denying the Ukrainian people the freedoms of expression, assembly, and religion, and

Whereas the Soviet Union imprisoned Ukrainians, especially Ukrainian intellectuals who have spoken out against the Soviet Union's oppression in the Ukraine; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations should follow prescribed U.N. procedure to bring before the U.N. Commission on Human Rights violations by the Soviet Union of human rights and basic freedoms in Ukraine, which violations contravene the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(Text of the Resolution, introduced in the House of Representatives on March 8, 1972 by the Hon. Louise Day Hicks, Congresswoman from Massachusetts.)

In a letter to Mr. Konrad Husak and Orest Szczudluk, president and public relations director of the UCCA Boston Branch, respectively, Congresswoman Hicks wrote:

"You may rest assured that I shall continue my efforts in behalf of the Ukrainian people and their fight for freedom."

A similar Resolution, H. Res. 895, was introduced in the House of Representatives on March 14, 1972 by the Hon. James A. Burke, Congressman from the same State.

Assurances of support of this measure were expressed by the Hon. Silvio Conte and the Hon. Hastings Keith, Members of Congress from Massachusetts.

OHIO

"... It has come to my attention

that the Soviet secret police — KGB — has instituted wide-spread purges among intellectuals within the Soviet Union, especially in Ukraine . . . Their list includes Ukrainian writers, literary critics, journalists, professors, artists, students, and scientific workers, as well as laborers and other representatives of a cross section of Ukrainian society . . .

"I strongly urge the Administration to use every means at its disposal, including our U.N. delegation, to arouse public opinion throughout the world against the tyrannical disregard of human rights and human dignity by the Soviet Government. Let us demand that the Soviet Government release these political prisoners immediately, and that the Soviet Government refrain from such activity in the future."

Robert Taft, Jr.
U.S. Senator

(The Congressional Record, March 17, 1972, Washington, D.C.)

NORTH DAKOTA

"... I believe it would be appropriate for me to take this up with our Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, immediately. Ambassador Bush is a very able person and I am sure he feels much the same as you and I about this terrible persecution and oppression by the Russians. Too, I will be discussing this problem with the President at my first opportunity. It could well be that he would want to include this among the topics he will be discussing with Soviet leaders when he goes to Russia . . . I share your deep concern over the new and increasing instances of Soviet persecution of the Ukrainian people ..."

Milton R. Young
U.S. Senator

(Excerpts from letter, dated March 21, 1972 to Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the North Dakota Branch of the UCCA.)

Assurances also came from the Hon. Arthur A. Link and the Hon. Mark Andrews, both Congressmen from North Dakota. Congressman Andrews wrote that he was urging President Nixon to include the matter of persecution in Ukraine "on the agenda when he meets with the USSR leaders in May."

MARYLAND

"... I, too, have been deeply concerned about the tragic incidents (in Ukraine) and have made inquiry on this subject to the Department of State ..."

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
U.S. Senator

"... I have written to the President, urging that he add the question of the freedom of Soviet intellectuals to his agenda for the upcoming trip to Moscow ..."

J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
U.S. Senator

Support for the persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals comes from Congressmen Joel T. Broyhill, Lawrence J. Hogan, Gilbert Gude.

(From the correspondence between these U.S. legislators and Dr. Stephen B. Kurylas and Dr. Jaroslaw N. Geleta, president and secretary, respectively, of the Washington, D. C. Branch of the UCCA.)

VIRGINIA

"Thank you for your recent letter requesting my assistance in notifying the President of your concern for certain arrests which have occurred in Ukraine.

"I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of your letter to the President for his consideration."

William B. Spong, Jr.
U.S. Senator

ILLINOIS

"... It has been called to my attention that a series of arrests have taken place in Ukraine of dissident intellectuals whose sole crime seems to be a protest against the Russification of their country ..."

"May I respectfully urge, Mr. President, that when you are in Moscow you request that such ar-

rests end; that the Soviet Union honor the guarantees of civil liberties incorporated in its own constitution and those to which it pledged itself with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights; that you insist that political prisoners not be exploited as slave labor, specifically on projects which come under the provisions of the recently expanded U.S.-Soviet trade agreements; and that you allow increased immigration to the United States of all ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union ..."

Roman C. Pucinski
Member of Congress

(Letter to President Nixon, dated March 22, 1972.)

MICHIGAN

On February 29, 1972, the Hon. Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, House Minority Leader, made a statement which he introduced into the Congressional Record, reading as follows:

"... I have received a number of letters from Ukrainian Americans quoting dispatches from Reuters and the AP detailing the repression visited upon certain intellectuals in Ukraine ..."

"The people of the free world cannot allow this repression of the basic freedoms of speech and thought to continue. It is the duty of each of us to voice our strongest condemnation of these infringements of basic human rights.

"I agree with the objective of the Ukrainian American protesters which is to arouse public opinion so that the U.N. Commission on Human Rights will investigate the conditions in Ukraine — what protesters describe as 'the systematic destruction of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and the policy of forced Russification.'"

"I hope that all Members of Congress will add their voices to those of the Ukrainian Americans who are protesting the trampling of human rights in Ukraine."

Gerald R. Ford
Member of Congress

MOROZ DEFIES SOVIET JAILERS

“... Five years ago I was seated in the dock — and a shot was fired from there. Then I was placed behind barbed wire in Mordovia — and a bomb was ejected from there. Now again, understanding and learning nothing, you are starting everything from the beginning. Only this time, the boomerang effect will be much more powerful. In 1965, Moroz was an obscure lecturer of history. Now he is well known . . . The only kind of Moroz who could be of really great use to you would be a submissive Moroz who would write a statement of repentance. This would really be a stunning blow to all conscious Ukrainianism. But you will never see such a

Moroz. If, by placing me behind bars, you are counting on creating a vacuum in the Ukrainian renaissance, then that is absurd. Understand at last: there will never be a vacuum again. The abundance of the spiritual potential of Ukraine is sufficient enough to fill any kind of vacuum and to give forth new public figures, both in place of those who are in prison and those who have departed from public activity . . . The national renaissance is the deepest of all spiritual processes . . . And even having destroyed me, you will not be able to silence it . . .”

(Valentyn Moroz's last statement at his trial on November 20, 1970, in Ukraine, at which he was sentenced to nine years at hard labor.)

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY ON TORTURES OF UKRAINIAN PRISONERS

Vladimir Bukovsky, a Russian political dissident who spent six of his 27 years in Soviet prisons, psychiatric asylums and labor camps, and who finally was sentenced to nine years at hard labor again, in a secret document-report, writes:

“I had two cell-mates: an old Ukrainian nationalist who spent 16 years in prison, and a criminal who slew his children and cut off his ears . . . Every minute and during the sleepless nights, the Ukrainian

orated about the independence of Ukraine . . .

“They beat the Ukrainian every day. Simply, they tied him up and kicked him in the stomach. Sometimes, they put the inmates in a special soundproof isolator and beat them incessantly. I knew a few people who died afterwards . . .”

(“Soviet Documents,” *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, February 11, 1972, New York, N. Y.)

RUSSIFICATION RAMPANT IN UKRAINE

“... Russians were everywhere with their arrogant overbearing attitude; their contempt, sometimes veiled but often overt, for the Ukrainian language; their open display of a feeling of Russian superiority. It made me wonder why Russians, not Ukrainians, occupied so many positions in Kiev.

“Then I decided to delve into this problem thoroughly. Much of my spare time I spent in libraries, sifting through any material that was connected with the subject. I tried

to follow every lead, to get confirmation for every statement, to verify every unpublished document and to check and evaluate every source.

“My investigations began to reveal a planned discrimination against Ukraine and Ukrainians and a conspiracy against the Ukrainian language. I began collecting any published material that could throw light on the subject . . . Evidence showing discrimination against Ukraine and Ukrainians,

BRITISH CONCERNED OVER ARRESTS IN UKRAINE

"... But it is in Ukraine that there has been most national ferment in recent years. The Ukrainian dissidents have produced the largest amount of *samizdat*, underground literature. So far, 21 Ukrainian intellectuals have been rounded up... What kind of evidence of 'bourgeois nationalism' the KGB, Russia's security police, is now trying to compile against... (them) remains to be seen..."

"On the basis of all the information available so far, it is patently absurd to accuse those men of anything except resisting forcible Russification and demanding more cultural and political autonomy for their 40-million fellow-Ukrainians in the Soviet Union — all in accord with provisions laid down and guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. Although they are Slavs, like

the Russians, and speak a language closely akin to Russian, the Ukrainians have always felt themselves to be different from their northern neighbors, who first attempted to Russify them under the Czars..."

(The Economist, February 26, 1972, London)

"... While national aspirations (in Ukraine) have so far been voiced mainly by intellectuals (as they have been in every country over the past century), there is mounting evidence that they have struck a responsible chord among many ordinary men and women, who bitterly resent the manipulative and arrogant tactics of the Russian *nachalstvo* (bosses)..."

("Ukraine's Law-abiding Dissidents," by Abraham Brumberg, The Guardian, March 13, 1972, Manchester, England)

AMERICAN U.N. DELEGATE CHALLENGES SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

On April 6, 1972, William E. Schaufele, Jr., U.S. Representative in the Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, in replying to the Soviet delegate who assailed the United States for "suppressing" human rights, stated, among other things:

"... The point is that real, alleged or suspected violations of human rights in this country come quickly to public attention through the mass media. Unfortunately that is not the case in the Soviet Union..."

"We admit our problems and welcome discussion of them al-

though we don't always put the same interpretation on them as the Soviet delegate. He has enumerated problems as he reads them — as we all read about them... We would welcome constructive discussion or suggestions about how to approach or solve them. And perhaps we could broaden the discussion to include the situation of Soviet Jewry, religious freedom in Lithuania, trials in the Ukraine or the use of confinement to mental institutions without due process of law..."

(U.S. Mission to the U.N., Press Release USUN-37 72)

and the campaign of Russification gives conclusive proof of what many have suspected for so long, exposes the falsity of Soviet proclamations of freedom of national development in the USSR and re-

veals the plight of Ukraine to the public of the democratic world..."

(Education in Soviet Ukraine, by John Kolasky, pp. XIII-XV, 1967, Toronto.)



ON DECEMBER 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions; without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."